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Do U.S. Bomb tests imperil Americans? The people talk up

SOME TIME this month at least nine nuclear bombs, each packing the wallop that wiped out Hiroshima, will be touched off in the Nevada flats, 90 miles from Las Vegas. The Atomic Energy Commission has issued tranquilizing bulletins describing the bombs as "low-yield" tactical weapons but a **United Press** report called them "city-wreckers by World War II standards." The German physicists who said they would have no part of such "baby" bombs, said these "tactical" weapons are as potent as the original A-blast.

How safe are those Americans who this month must live under the shadow of the mushroom clouds that will drift over their homes and ranches? The AEC has said: " . . . each shot is justified by national and international security need and . . . none wil be fired unless there is adequate assurance of public safety."

The **Reporter** magazine in an on-the-spot survey found thousands in Nevada and Utah who face the tests with dread —a dread that may be justified.

FACTS OF LIFE—AND DEATH: Paul Jacobs, staff member of the **Reporter** and consultant for the Fund for the Republic, was told by many in the West: "You are the first person who has ever come to talk to us about what we have gone through."

The **Reporter** devoted most of its May 16 issue to Jacobs' report and a vigorous anti-Bomb editorial by Max Ascoli. These are some of the facts turned up by Jacobs as he talked with those who live in the bomb's shadow:

In the Spring of 1955 Martin (Butch) Bardoli, then 7, was attending school at the Fallini ranch near Warm Springs, Nev. All through the tests that year Martin's class and teacher spent their recess time outdoors watching the radioactive clouds drift by from the bomb site. An "acid-like taste" in the throat bothered many in the neighborhood after one such cloud passed. When a rancher went over the schoolroom with a geiger counter, the instrument couldn't click fast enough to record the radiation. Last year Martin Bardoli died of leukemia in a Reno hospital. One of the doctors who attended the boy thought the bomb tests might have caused it. The AEC said firmly: impossible.

OTHER CASES: Minnie Sharp used to work bareheaded in her garden 30 miles east of the Fallini ranch during the '55 series. All of her hair has fallen out as happened to many in Hiroshima, but the AEC denies the tests had anything to do with it. Jacobs points out, though, that the AEC cannot say for sure just how much radiation Mrs. Sharp received. Three others whose hair fell out and who suffered other ailments after the 1953 tests sued the government. The AEC op-

(Continued on Page 8)

JAPANESE MAY DAY SLOGAN: ALL OUT AGAINST THE FALL-OUT

Three million people demonstrated in the biggest May Day in Japanese history. Placards called for a world-wide ban on nuclear weapons, a campaign to free the world from the Bomb. In Tokyo (above) they carried a replica of the fishing vessel No. 5 Fukuryo Maru (The Fortunate Dragon) that was caught in the fall-out from the 1954 blast at Bikini. It has come to serve as a symbol of what one U.S. editor last week called an act of "hostility against mankind" (see left).

EVERYBODY WANTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUT THE PEOPLE

NATO lays a large egg in Bonn

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

TWELVE YEARS after the defeat of Hitler, the shadow of a renascent and increasingly powerful Western Germany is lengthening over Europe. Scattered popular protests against installment of former Nazi Gen. Hans Speidel at NATO headquarters at Fontainebleu marked the V-E Day anniversary, which was preceded by what the London Daily **Express** called the "incredible sight" of "the conquerors of 12 years ago" hurrying to Bonn as "grateful equals."

If, as Western statesmen like Secy. Dulles have proclaimed, no group is more eager than NATO to reduce its armament and threat of nuclear war, their actions suggested that the most urgent step to this end was to arm Western Germany with nuclear bombs.

With the recent Paris accords "guaranteeing" against German possession of atomic weapons all but forgotten, W. Germany was welcomed, the London **Times** said, as "an equal and indeed the important member of the alliance," dutybound to nuclear armament. One year ago French Premier Mollet heartened Europeans by proclaiming that "the solution of the problem of Germany passes through disarmament." Today his government has lined itself up solidly with the Dulles-Adenauer theme: No disarmament without German reunification on Western terms.

SPLIT IS WIDER: Yet this Western progression toward unity, far from spelling victory promised by the proponents of the "position of strength" idea, seemed, in the wake of the NATO Council meeting in Bonn, to be leading nowhere. In addition, it was widening fissures in the Atlantic Alliance to the point where even Western commentators spoke of "internal crisis." NATO, said one W. German paper, is "outwardly strong but inwardly very weak."

All the oratory on German unity could not conceal one fact, emphasized by the London **Times**: the four-power working committee (U.S., Britain, France, W. Germany) established to speed German unity had "failed to produce anything new and general agreement was not reached." Today the alliance is brought up hard against the fact that it has had but one policy for German unity: forcible annexation of Eastern Germany—therefore war. The press service of the W. German Social Democratic Party said NATO's Bonn session was a "fiasco" which "left all questions important for Germany just as unsolved as they were before."

QUESTION OF CYPRUS: Similarly,

(Continued on Page 9)

UNITED MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

The American Forum is born

PATIENT EFFORT of nearly two years by the Rev. A. J. Muste, noted pacifist and leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, brought forth significant results this past week with the announcement of establishment of an American Forum for Socialist Education. The new group has a 40-member national committee including many nationally-known educators, trade unionists and individuals reflecting political tendencies of wide divergence.

The Forum will seek to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives," according to the opening announcement, "however deep and bitter their differences may have been." It intends to promote branches on a national scale.

Indicative of the breadth of participation is the presence on the national committee of Farrell Dobbs, 1956 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States; Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, Socialist leader and a member of the political science faculty of the Univ. of Minnesota; and such notables as Dr. Stringfellow Barr, author Waldo Frank, historian William Appleman Williams, Profs. Paul Baran of Stanford Univ., Derk Bodde of the Univ. of Penna., Oliver Loud of Antioch, H. H. Wilson of Princeton, and Benjamin F. McLaurin, field rep., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

LIST OF OFFICERS: Mr. Muste, who is editor of **Liberation**, pacifist monthly, will serve as chairman with several vice-

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THE MAIL BAG

Help Koinonia

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your April 15 Mailbag carried a letter about the struggles of Koinonia Farm in Americus, Ga. It was suggested that one way to help these courageous people rebuild their bomb-shattered facilities was to order pecans and peanuts by mail. These were the crops Koinonia was still able to offer via mail order.

I took the suggestion, as surely did many GUARDIAN readers. The following letter just arrived from Koinonia and bears out their plight. It reads in part :

"Dear Friend,

"Since the destruction of our market and equipment, we have had only pecans and peanuts available . . . Now our supply of nuts has been exhausted, so we are suspending the mail order business until . . . fall, or until we can rebuild . . . The pressures here have made it impossible to answer letters as promptly as we have wished . . . we ask forgiveness . . .

Gratefully yours,
KOINONIA FARM"

It would be a wonderfully reassuring gesture if readers who have received this letter were to return their checks to Koinonia to help them rebuild. I did. And perhaps there are many others who still haven't ordered, but would want to help Koinonia at this time. **M. G.**

No right for scorn

WARREN, CONN.

The implication in M. I. L.'s letter (Apr. 22) that the unfortunate death of three Americans in S.E. Persia [Iran] proves "that there is so little law and order in that country" that it is not a worthy or valuable friend to America is unfair, unrealistic and obviously prejudiced. Yes, Persia has not been able to completely control a few semi-savages in this bleak wilderness—a desolate land as large as Connecticut. But America is of all countries the least qualified to be scornful.

We were unable to protect an American general and his wife from assassination in populous Florida, whole families have been murdered in a number of towns, nor have we been able to check the rising flood of juvenile crime, an increase of 300,000 in the last year. New York City has a homicide rate more than ten times that of all Persia. Persia might well suspect the value of American friendship, especially as she has reason to feel that we were of little help to her in her desperate effort to throw off the domination of the exploiting oil companies and that we even favored the unfair consortium contract, with all its ambiguities and secret clauses, at a time when Persia was helpless because world markets were so vindictively closed to her.

"Persia must be punished" was a slogan of some of our oil tycoons. But Persia respects our democratic ideals, has grateful memories of Shuster and Millopaugh, of our support in the UN and, in view of the immense services she rendered us in the last war, can legitimately hope for continued and constructive cooperation from America, or at least to be protected from wholesale condemnation because of one unfortunate incident not easily foreseen or prevented, as we have found in dealing with our lawless elements, so deplorably numerous and defiant.

Arthur Upham Pope

Mr. Pope is the author of many studies of Oriental culture and a distinguished authority on Persia.—Editor.

Liberty Book Club

LITTLE COMPTON, R.I.

I am delighted that the Liberty Book Club is gaining so much support from GUARDIAN readers. In these times, the very existence of Liberty has meant that many a worthwhile book, otherwise doomed not to be published, has seen the light of day and enriched our lives. As a writer, I feel deeply indebted to Liberty Book Club for affording me a wider audience for **The Empire of Oil** and I am sure that scores of other writers are under a similar debt.

Harvey O'Connor

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Conditioning has hardened my resistance to organizational drives in the morning mail, but the one I received today, along with most other GUARDIAN readers, from the editors of Liberty Book Club, shattered my protective shell. The content was stimulating, the offer attractive and the situation apparently urgent. They need your membership and mine and those of our friends, and they are willing to give away free books in exchange.

As one who has been close to Liberty Book Club I offer an irrefutable conclusion. Writers don't make any money to speak of out of it (one look at the editors and you can tell they don't); hence it stands to reason that all the profit goes back to the subscriber in the form of good books at bargain prices.

According to the sketches of editors Angus Cameron and Carl Marzani, written by each other, they have both led adventurous lives, but I doubt if they have ever embarked on a more provocative adventure than establishing an outlet for progressive writing in America. If, as I judge, their need for support is acute, so is our obligation to give it to them.

Ring Lardner Jr.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Speaking of Dali, you might be interested in his new print-making technique which he calls "Bulletism." He fires point blank at a lithographic stone using a bullet in which he has inserted pieces of drawing lead. As the bullet strikes and ricochets off the stone, it leaves behind a pattern of streaks created by the lead pieces. This pattern is then transferred from the stone to paper. Dali admits this is a hit or miss method.

—Brown Ink, May, 1957

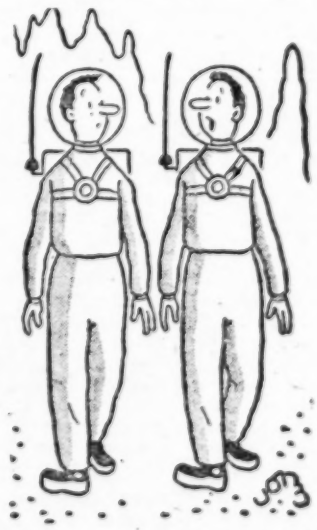
One year free sub to source of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. Frankel, Bronx, N. Y.

Decline of the Left

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The decline of the progressive and American Left which has been taking place for almost a decade is not primarily due to the terrible witch-hunting we have been witnessing, although this is an important factor. The real basic reason is that economically no major crisis has developed in this country following the last war. The Korean war and continued arms expenditures as well as aid programs for the anti-Communist world have succeeded for the time being in maintaining adequate employment levels. Great progressive and left-wing movements rise up in times of crises, when the so-called free enterprise system reveals its glaring weaknesses and contradictions. History provides plenty of examples of social movements made necessary by existing conditions.

Secondly, the progressive movement never was fully representative and had no base in the broad sections of the working class. Wallace failed in 1948 because he lacked the support of organized labor. I might also add that, in my own personal experience over the last 10 years, I have noted how a lower middle class element, although sincere and conscientious, dominated



London Daily Mail

"What do I do now? My nose itches!"

many progressive and left-wing clubs. A left-wing movement must in the future try to gather working people who are the majority. Making an appeal to minority groups on the basis of what is in their interest is constructive but not all encompassing.

Thirdly, the witch-hunt came about as a result of the sharp conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the U. S. Work toward a goal of peaceful relations with the Soviets will give the witch-hunters at home less justification for the terrible repression that has been going on.

I hope we can profit by a proper study of these causes.

Stanley Klein

Parody

BERNIE, MO.

The links lay near the cotton field
And nearly every day
The children could look up from work
And see our Pres. at play.

V. Smith

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REPORT TO READERS

Four deaths

WITH SADNESS we have just learned of the death in Denver last February of Adolphus Stewart Embree, "Sam" Embree to all who knew him for most of his 79 years. A Newfoundland-born miner, at the time of his death he was retired as an international representative and organizer of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union.

Sam Embree and his wife Lucy were among the GUARDIAN's earliest boosters; at a GUARDIAN meeting in Chicago six years ago Sam Embree arose in the audience to tell of his early days as a member of the "Army" of the old **Appeal to Reason**. Once for a spell it was his assignment, he recalled, to smuggle 5,000 copies a week over the Canadian border. He was ready to do it for the GUARDIAN, too, if need be.

In his lifetime, Sam Embree participated in all the historic struggles of the Western miner. He joined the Western Federation of Miners as a youth in British Columbia. It was there, in Greenwood, that he met and married Lucy MacKenzie in 1908. They came to the States together. Sam became an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World; was sentenced to four years in Idaho jails for "criminal syndicalism"; and was involved in the historic 1917 box-car deportation of union men from the Bisbee, Ariz., mining camp.

Lucy wrote us of his passing:

"In the last month of his life, the longest sentence he uttered was 'That's a fine letter'. That was the last letter you wrote to me. I read it to him. He could not speak in his dying hours."

IN FLEMINGTON, N.J., veteran steel organizer John Steuben died May 9 of a heart ailment after a long illness. Hungarian-born, he became a U.S. citizen while a member of our armed forces during World War II. In 1952, the government moved to denaturalize him. He had then become editor of **March of Labor**. Early this year John Steuben was headlined for his outcry against the Kadar Hungarian government's intention to execute trade union leaders who were leading the Workers' Councils against the government. "Not even Franco dared do this," he declared from his sickbed, and terminated a long association with the Communist Party. But he put Congressional committees on notice that they could expect no testimony from him on his Communist associations, even under the continuing threat of deportation.

IN WASHINGTON, D.C., Frances Wheeler Sayler, former United Electrical Workers organizer and legislative representative, died on April 27 of cancer. She was a daughter of former Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and wife of Allen Sayler, once head of the United Auto Workers radio division.

Mrs. Sayler, whose father was the running-mate of Sen. Bob LaFollette in the Progressive presidential campaign of 1924, served as staff investigator for the famous LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee in the late 30s. She was active in the original Committee to Abolish the Poll tax; worked tirelessly in the 1948 Progressive Party campaign of Henry A. Wallace and Glen Taylor; and in recent years led a successful campaign against discrimination in Montgomery County, Maryland, where the Saylers lived at Wheaton. Under Mrs. Sayler's leadership, Montgomery County, Md., was among the first to respond to the appeal for help from the Montgomery, Ala., bus protest campaign. She was only 40 at her death.

AT BETHESDA, MD., Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy died on May 3, and much of the press took fulsome advantage of the old saying, "Of the dead, naught but good." But the Coos Bay, Ore., **Times** shed no crocodile tears. In its issue of May 8 a full length editorial two-columns wide frankly lays bare the McCarthy story, warns that for many "mccarthyism never dies"; and concludes:

"Some say McCarthy was a great American. If America is a land of intolerance, of untruth, of win-at-any-cost, of character assassination, of intolerance of other nations, of deceit and treachery and turmoil, McCarthy stands high on the list . . .

"McCarthy is not what Americanism means to us. To us he depicts the nation at its almost worst. And in sadness, but in truth, were McCarthy the symbol of Americanism, we would want none of it."

And from a reader we have received these verses written of a departed British M.P. nearly 40 years ago:

How richly with ridiculous display
The politician's corpse was laid away.
While all of his acquaintance sneered and slanged
I wept, for I had hoped to see him hanged.

—THE GUARDIAN

RIGHT OF SILENCE UPHELD

Political test for lawyers ruled out by high court

By Lawrence Emery

IN NEW MEXICO Rudolph Schware was denied a license to practice law because he admitted membership in the Communist Party from 1932 to 1940. In California Raphael Konigsberg was denied a license because he refused to deny or affirm CP membership, or to answer any questions before the State Bar Examiners about his beliefs or affiliations. On May 6 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the right of both men to practice.

Both opinions were written by Justice Hugo L. Black. In the Schware case the Court declared, 8 to 0, that "we conclude that his past membership in the Communist Party does not justify the inference that he presently has bad moral character."

NO RATIONAL SUPPORT: In the Konigsberg case, decided 5 to 3, the Court held that there is nothing in California law or in the Bar Committee rules to make failure to answer questions a basis for exclusion from the practice of law. Konigsberg had been declared unfit to practice because he had failed to demonstrate that he was a person of good

Herblock in Washington Post

"You fellows say you want to save money?"

moral character and had also failed to show that he does not advocate the violent overthrow of the government. The Court ruled that the "evidence did not rationally support" either ground, and that Konigsberg's background "furnished strong proof that his life had always been honest and upright."

Konigsberg, long active in civic affairs and a one-time columnist for the Negro weekly **California Eagle**, was once identified before a state investigating committee as a Communist in 1941. The Supreme Court ruled that even if this charge was true, "the mere fact of membership would not support an inference that he did not have good moral character" and "without anything more is not an adequate basis for concluding he is disloyal or a person of bad character."

"A CITIZEN'S DUTY": Justice Charles Evans Whittaker, who had not yet been appointed to the Court when the cases were argued, did not participate in either.

The three dissents in the Konigsberg case were by Justices Frankfurter, Harlan and Clark. Justice Frankfurter based his dissent on a technical question of whether the Constitutional issues in the case had been properly raised before the California Supreme Court. Justices Harlan and Clark held that the questions asked Konigsberg did not invade his constitutional rights under the First Amendment, which he invoked.

Said Konigsberg in Los Angeles: "I am of course pleased with the decision, primarily because it affirms the position that it is a citizen's duty to defend our democratic society by refusing to collaborate with those who are undermining it." He said the ruling helps prove that "it is those citizens who have opposed the witch-hunters by refusing to betray our constitution, no matter what the price, who are the better Americans. I hope the Supreme Court's decision will give renewed courage to our fellow citizens to put an end to the Un-Americans and to rebuild the democratic foundations of our country."

A QUESTION OF FAITH: Dealing with Schware's admitted CP membership from 1932 to 1940, Justice Black wrote: "During that period the Communist Party was a lawful political party with candidates on the ballot in most states. There is nothing in the record that gives any indication that his association with the party was anything more than a political faith in a political party . . .

"Schware joined the Communist Party when he was a young man during the midst of the country's greatest depression. Apparently many thousands of other Americans joined him in this step. During the depression, when millions were unemployed and our economic system was paralyzed, many turned to the Communist Party out of desperation or hope . . .

"There is nothing in the record which indicates that he ever engaged in any actions to overthrow the government of the United States or any state by force or violence, or that he ever advocated such actions. Assuming that some members of the Communist Party during the period from 1932 to 1940 had illegal aims and engaged in illegal activities, it cannot automatically be inferred that all members shared their evil purposes or participated in their illegal conduct."

BOTH HAD WAR SERVICE: The New Mexico bar examiners had charged that Schware had used aliases, but Justice Black noted that this had been done in San Pedro during the West Coast maritime strike in 1934 when Schware had been arrested. He pointed out that the arrests "were made more than 20 years ago" and that Schware "was never formally charged nor tried for any offense related to them."

The rulings took note of the war service of both men. Konigsberg, born in Austria in 1911 and brought to this country when he was eight, volunteered and served as a captain in the U.S. Army in World War II in North Africa, Italy, France and Germany. Schware, born in New York in 1914, served as a paratrooper in New Guinea.

In New York Royal W. France, exec. secy. of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, which had filed a brief in support of Konigsberg, said of the Supreme Court decisions: "The lawyer has a duty to lead the community in the preservation of democratic rights, not to become a conforming robot as a condition of entrance into the profession."

A CORRECTION

In the story on the Lozoya case (GUARDIAN 5/13) it was stated that the Chicago Welfare Dept. had urged the oldest Lozoya daughter to leave school and take a job to lighten the burden on the agency. This is not a fact. The GUARDIAN is glad to print this correction.

BE IT EVER SO SHAMBLES . . .
The Wades and their friends had to go through bombings, sedition trials, jail terms, mortgage foreclosures and loss of jobs before they could own their home.

LOUISVILLE BOMBING WINDUP

Wades get title to house after three-year ordeal

Special to the GUARDIAN
LOUISVILLE, KY.

MR. AND MRS. Andrew Wade IV have gained clear title to their dynamited home in suburban Shively after a struggle that lasted three years and came to the attention of people all over the world. They said the house will be repaired immediately.

The Wades, who are Negroes, had been unable to repair the damaged property because money to do the work was held up by lawsuits over two mortgages on the house. They were unable to get new mortgages because of severe damage to the home, which is in a segregated neighborhood.

The problem was solved when Mr. and Mrs. David Simonson of Chicago loaned the Wades $12,326 to pay off the old mortgages, accumulated interest, and court costs. The court costs resulted from suits filed by South End Federal Savings & Loan Assn. and James I. Rone, builder of the house, to foreclose on the mortgages.

THEY HAD A RIGHT: The Simonsons said in describing their role in the settlement: "We first read about the Wade case while living in Paris. Shortly after our return to the U.S. last year, we heard Mr. Wade make an appeal for aid on a radio program sponsored by the United Automobile Workers and conducted by Guy Nunn.

"We decided then that we would help in whatever way we could. When we learned recently that the court had ordered full payment of the mortgages on the bombed property, we offered to loan the Wades the money. We felt they had a right to the property. We also thought it was a crime to let the house sit and rot while the money to repair it was held up by the dispute over ownership."

The bank and the builder sued to foreclose on a technicality soon after a white couple, Carl and Anne Braden, transferred the house to the Wades in May, 1954. The Bradens had bought the house from the builder at the Wades' request after the Negro family was unable to make the purchase. The house was 60% destroyed by a dynamite bomb in June, 1954, and has lain in ruins ever since. An insurance company paid $5,800 to restore the property, but the Circuit Court held the money pending outcome of the mortgage suits.

THE "SEDITION" CASE: Meantime, the Bradens and five other white supporters of the Wades were indicted by the county grand jury on a variety of criminal charges, including advocating sedition. Braden was given 15 years in prison on that charge. His conviction was reversed last summer after he had served eight months behind bars. Two of the others spent five and six months in jail before all charges were dropped without trial last November. All those involved were fired from their jobs.

Settlement of the long dispute was announced by the co-chairmen of the Wade Defense Committee—Dr. M. M. D. Perdue, pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church of Louisville, and Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, presiding bishop of the Tenth Episcopal District of A.M.E. Zion Church.

The void between the oceans

I HEAR MEN TALK about following in the footsteps of Jefferson. Why, Jefferson was the great radical of his day! He referred everything back to the people; he wanted everything left in the hands of the people . . . Jefferson indeed did say that that government was best which governed least; that was when he was speaking of those governments that are distinct from the people; that are a constant menace to the people; that are a convenience for the powerful in plundering the people. But that is a very different proposition from having the people manage their own affairs, from having them control and own those things upon which their comfort, their happiness, their health and their very lives depend. Were Jefferson alive today, his voice would be heard from ocean to ocean demanding that the people themselves must own the monopolies.

—JOHN PETER ALTGELD, Governor of Illinois, in a speech before the Independent Club, Buffalo, N.Y., a few days before his death, March 12, 1902.

THE ELEVEN-YEAR DEATH TOLL IS OVER 150,000

What brought on the Colombia crisis

STUDENTS PASS TYRANNY'S TEST

Censorship has prevented photo coverage of recent events in Colombia, but reports told of scenes like this one, in 1954, when troops fired on unarmed students parading in Bogota, killing 15 and wounding 20. Note some pausing to care for the wounded.

By Elmer Bendiner

HALF A DOZEN Latin-American generals last week were trying to rule from behind sand-bagged Presidential palaces, calling out their heaviest artillery at the first word of students leaving their classrooms, of merchants pulling down the iron shutters of their shops, of farmers leaving their fields at mid-day. Not in years had tyranny seemed so precarious in Cuba, Colombia, Chile, Argentina.

College boys and girls were demanding liberty and some of them were dying for it in Havana, Bogota, Santiago de Chile. Prisons were filling up in Buenos Aires. Confusion and fear drove the military chiefs of Nicaragua and Honduras into shadow-boxing for diversion and Haiti was prostrate in a crisis of local corruption and economic misrule.

Colombia's crisis was perhaps the longest in coming and climaxed the bitterest agony. It began with an assassination on a Bogota street corner in April, 1946. Since then the death toll of almost constant fighting has risen to well over 150,000.

EBB TIDE FOR REFORMS: Before 1946 Colombia had had more than half a century of calm constitutional government. From 1930 to 1946 the Liberal Party had governed the country, leading it into mild New Deal reforms. It began to tackle the feudal land problem, separated the Roman Catholic Church from the state, secularized public schools. In 1946 the Liberals were divided and the Conservatives, the party of the Church, land-owners and new industrialists, took office. The Conservatives' hold was shaky and in the Congressional elections of 1948 the Liberals were swept back into a majority. That was the signal for war. The tide in Washington and elsewhere was running against New Deals. The Conservatives were in no mood to cede their power.

While the Ninth Conference of the Organization of American States was meeting in Bogota, an assassin on a street corner shot and killed the popular leader of the Liberals, Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. The strikes, demonstrations and riots that followed were brutally suppressed.

CIVIL WAR ERUPTS: In 1949 the Conservatives, having illegalized all opposition, installed Dr. Laureano Gomez in the Presidency. Garrisons were set up throughout the countryside as if Colombia were being occupied by the enemy. Conservatives drove the Liberals from the land. The farmers formed into guerrilla bands and a searing civil war raged across mountain and plains. Liberals, Protestants, Communists were outlawed, hunted, massacred.

By 1952 even the Conservatives were sick of the war. In 1953 politicians of both sides seemed relieved and cautiously hopeful when Gen. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, commander of the army, bloodlessly deposed Gomez and sent him into exile. But, Gen. Rojas tasted power, then felt that power threatened, first by the press which he tried to padlock or smash; then by the Protestants whom he equated with the national enemy and the church burnings were resumed; then by the guerrillas who wanted their land the Conservatives had stolen during the Gomez years, and civil war was unleashed again.

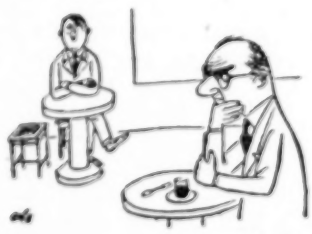
MADE IN AMERICA: The weapons of terror bore U.S. markings; Rojas was given trucks and guns, uniforms and napalm bombs as military aid to an anti-communist. In 1955 alone 10,000 were reportedly killed in the fighting. Towns that harbored rebels were wiped out to the last child. Prisoners were tortured. The cruelty of Rojas reached a monstrous peak in Bogota's bull-ring in February, 1956. At the season's opening corrida the crowd cheered former President Alberto Lleras Camargo, but when Rojas' 22-year-old daughter took her seat they drove her out with whistles which in Colombia have the significance of cat-calls.

The following week Gen. Rojas himself came to the bull-ring. A claque well-scattered throughout the arena set up a cry of "Viva." Then henchmen picked out those who were silent or muttered disapprovingly and attacked them with blackjacks, knives, pistols. Bodies were hurled into the arena. Eight persons were killed that afternoon and 50 seriously injured.

PROCLAMATION: The opposition never slackened. In the mountainous province of Tolima the guerrilla forces formally proclaimed a war to the finish: "We are learning the art of guerrilla warfare and the enemy will never be able to liquidate us, no matter how superior he is in arms, manpower and Yankee aid . . . We swear to adhere to the principles of Fighting and Working which means that all members of guerrilla forces will be armed warriors and at the same time workers of the land, where conditions permit it, so that the farmers and Colombians in general will see that we are fulfilling our obligation to earn our own living . . . We invite the soldiers who have been ordered to fight against the peasants to desert with their arms and join us in our struggle for land, for higher salaries for urban and rural workers, for civil liberties and trade union liberties . . ."

The chaos to which Rojas was leading Colombia could profit nobody. The Church began deftly to dissociate itself, and Bogota's Cardinal Luque referred to the bull-ring massacre as "unspeakable." Conservatives, too, were drifting from Rojas who boasted he ruled by "patriotism, intelligence and machine-guns; party banners are dirty rags."

HIGH LIFE AND DISEASE: The nation headed for bankruptcy while corruption



Ludas Matyi

"Hm, that face seems familiar . . . "

flourished. Bills for the swimming pool and glassware in the bright new officers' club in Bogota came to $2,000,000. U.S. investors were made attractive offers of cheap labor. They poured money into the country, which was promptly spent for jets, guns, destroyers. **Time** magazine quoted one disillusioned Colombian: "The only thing you can make with a warship is an admiral." The farmers, when they were not fighting as guerillas, worked with primitive tools and wasted away with goitre (up to 80% in some provinces), anemia, scurvy and pellagra.

Last February Rojas announced that he held his post "by dispensation of the Divine Providence" and would keep office until 1962. Technically Rojas' term would be up next year, but he devised a plan whereby the Assembly, made up of Conservatives and Liberals but all handpicked by the President himself, would elect him for another four years.

MORE BLOOD: Last week, in preparation for that "election," Bogota was occupied by the Army. There and in Cali and Medellin the economy was at a standstill. Workers were on strike. Students closed down the schools and called their campaign "The Struggle for the Reconquest of the Motherland." In four days preceding the Assembly session, the government admitted to 15 killed in Cali and three more in Bogota, all students. The toll was sure to be more. Some were clubbed to death by police, others blasted by tear-gas guns at close range. Troops were everywhere spraying demonstrators with red dye so that they could be marked for later identification, arrest and possible torture.

Emergency hospitals were set up to treat the injured as troops moved from one demonstration to another, bayonetting and clubbing. After Catholic churchmen appealed to disarm the police and "stop the carnage," tear-gas bombs were hurled inside churches and the buildings were dyed red by police spray guns. The Church had not come out in formal opposition to Rojas. **La Voz Catolica,** church organ, denied the bishops were supporting the strikes that engulfed the country, but added this did not mean they were opposing them either.

In Cali students tore up paving stones to make barricades and, armed with nothing more than rocks, withstood the armed charge of troops. A 12-year-old girl and an 11-year-old boy were reported killed by the soldiers. Other students were lined up in police precincts and hosed down by pressure-jets of red dye.

THE 'RE-ELECTION': On Wed., May 8, the Natl. Constituent and Legislative Assembly met in a strike-bound capital surrounded by armored cars and artillery. Troops escorted a "demonstration" of support for Rojas to the Capitol steps and guarded the weakly cheering crowd. The most the troops could corral for the display was 800. From 10 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. a plainly reluctant Assembly tried to evade the vote. Then they balloted with 77 out of the 90 members present. They voted to waive the constitutional provisions that no President could succeed himself and that he be chosen by popular election. After that they "elected" Rojas for another four years. There was one dissenting vote.

On Thursday night May 9, while reports from all over the country indicated a spreading revolt, top Army officers and Cardinal Luque conferred with Rojas at the Palace. At three a.m. Friday Rojas agreed to go quietly into exile. A junta of five took over with Rojas' War Minister Gen. Gabriel Pario at the head. The others, all Rojas officials, include the head of the Secret Police, the commander of the national police and the commander-in-chief of Rojas' Army, Brig. Gen. Rafael Navas Pardo, thought most likely to emerge as the strong man of the five.

CHEERING IN THE STREETS: When word spread of Rojas' downfall before dawn crowds poured into Bogota's streets and some cheered as if it meant liberation. Politicians, Conservative and Liberal, hurried to the Palace to lend support to the new regime, which promised elections some time before August, 1958. Some Colombians, recalling that Rojas took power in 1953 with the same promise and the same hopes from the politicians, demanded that the strikes go on until a civilian government was formed. Crowds in the Plaza Bolivar hurled stones and shoes at the troops who answered with a volley that killed three. The new regime came to Medellin, too, with blood on its hands when troops inflicted 30 casualties on unruly demonstrators.

Rojas flew to a refuge in Franco Spain where he was believed to have some $2,000,000 tucked away for such an emergency. He blamed his fall on "a few priests" who turned against him. His predecessor, Dr. Laureano Gomez, also in Franco Spain, said he was cheered by the turn of events.

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

"Poor man's in an awful state. Here, throw him one of these!"

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ROAD TO NOWHERE

U.S. policy and the Middle East

By Kumar Goshal

JAMES P. RICHARDS, President Eisenhower's special ambassador, returned home last week with glowing reports of his success in selling the Eisenhower Doctrine to Middle Eastern countries. But dispatches from correspondents on the spot and comments from Washington were dimmer.

At a press conference May 10 Richards said he had committed $120,000,000 of the $200,000,000 aid fund he carried with him, and had thriftily brought back the balance. Half the amount committed to 15 nations was for military aid. He denied any attempt to "isolate" Egypt's President Nasser, but made it clear he would not be unhappy if that happened to be the result of his mission. In a broadcast the day before he said the Middle Eastern peoples and governments trusted the U. S., "welcomed" the doctrine and "none rejected it."

N.Y. **Times** Middle East correspondent Sam Pope Brewer, however, reported (5/5) that "much of the Arab world looks on the [Richards] mission as a U. S. diplomatic blunder."

DISSATISFACTION: The countries Richards visited were non-committal or hostile. The Sudan rejected the doctrine, Yemen remained silent after Richards left. The Moroccans viewed it "with only lukewarm interest"; one official said: "We don't want to get too entangled in the U.S.-Soviet Union duel" (**Times**, 5/7).

At a meeting May 9, attended by the U. S. Ambassador, Tunisia's Premier Bourguiba "voiced sharp criticism . . . of American aid policies [and] expressed bitter disappointment and discouragement" at the outcome of Richards' visit. Condemning U. S. support of French action in Algeria and insistence that Tunisia fell within "the French sphere of influence," Bourguiba said: "The only danger that threatens the occidental camp . . . exists precisely in the . . . support given these imperialistic tendencies for opportunistic reasons."

Greensboro Daily News
"Surely, you don't think I laid this by myself!"

Bourguiba felt slighted by only a $3,000,000 grant. According to a prevailing anecdote, one Tunisian negotiator with the Richards missions asked another: "What shall we do with the $3,000,000?" The other replied: "Use it to build an embassy in Moscow" (**Times**, 5/11).

A U.S. State Dept. official, according to **The Nation** (5/11), was brutally frank about the Administration's Middle East policy. "First we sent our Richards mission . . . to see which countries we could buy," he said. "Then we sent the U.S. Sixth Fleet to whip into line those whom we couldn't purchase."

A PARADE AND A BIRTHDAY SUIT OF ARMOR FOR A NINE-YEAR OLD
Heavy tanks rumble through Tel Aviv as Israel celebrates her Independence Day, May 6

Whatever the net result of Richards' visit, the appearance of the Sixth Fleet —with planes carrying nuclear weapons —was evidence enough that Washington had taken over Britain's burden of making the Middle East safe for Western oil investments. And the events in Jordan underlined Washington's willingness to back any available counter-revolutionary force in a nation trying to follow a neutralist policy. Last week there were increasing indications that Syria might be next on the U.S. list.

THE INDISCREET ONES: The Paris **Liberation**'s correspondent in Lebanon reported (5/3) that "multiplying indiscretions" by the American "tourists" in the Lebanese capital Beirut revealed that Syria has replaced Jordan in the center of the stage. Turkey, a Baghdad Pact member, was already pressuring Syria by massing troops on the Syrian border. **Liberation** said that "political personalities more conciliatory toward U.S. policies in the Middle East" might be brought into the Syrian government or there might even be an alliance between Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Lebanon.

Newsweek (5/13) said that "a showdown appears to be looming" in Syria between Right and Left. "Success of U.S. policy in Jordan," **Business Week** said (5/4), "may well lead to another test for the Eisenhower Doctrine—this time in Syria." The results of recent Syrian by-elections, however, seemed to offer little hope for successful U.S. intervention.

BITTER BUT FAIR: In the May 4 vote involving four parliamentary seats, Syrian citizens had "a chance to indicate if they approve the trend" of the government to the Left (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/5). In three constituencies, candidates supported by the al Ba'ath (Socialist Resurrection) Party and its allies won against the conservatives. The margin was close enough to indicate a bitter but fair contest.

The most significant aspect of the elections, however, as the **Christian Science Monitor** reported (5/6), was that even the defeated conservative candidates "campaigned on a platform of opposition to the Eisenhower Doctrine and the West in general. This reflected the fact that the anti-Communist elements slowly emerging in Syria are for the most part anti-Western also."

In an interview on May 7, Syria's Foreign Minister Salah Bitar told **Herald Tribune** correspondent Tom Lambert that his government opposed the Western attempt to "force us to choose between the two alternatives" of communism and anti-communism. He said that U.S. support for the Egyptian-Syrian policy of "positive neutralism" would help establish strong stable governments throughout the Middle East. On the other hand, he warned, attempts to impose regimes of Western choosing would "cause explosions."

THE RUMOR CENTER: The U.S. seemed to be either oblivious to the possibilities of such "explosions" or deliberately courting them in its efforts to isolate or overthrow the governments of Syria and Egypt. This was evidenced by the spate of rumors emanating from Beirut, which appeared to have become the seat of U.S. intrigue in the Middle East.

Should the U.S. succumb to the temptation of throwing its military might around the Middle East, the American people would be staggered by the cost involved in such adventures. **Times** military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin wrote (5/9-10) that it would mean doubling the components of the Sixth Fleet and filling "the virtual vacuum of military strength in the whole vast arc from Aden to Singapore."

TIDE OF NATIONALISM: "The American people should understand," Baldwin said, "that the military task of the U.S. in the Middle East has not ended with the successful demonstration of the Sixth Fleet, but is just beginning." Even in Jordan, "King Hussein has won a battle but not the war. The long-term odds are against him unless he is bolstered by indefinite U.S. support, both economic and military."

But all this, Baldwin said, would not alter or resolve "the basic long-term forces that influence events" in the Middle East: "A tide of Arab nationalism, which will persist regardless of changes in governments or personalities" and "the Arab enmity for Israel [which] will persist as the major political factor in the area."

"MASSIVE REVOLUTION": Arab nationalism will not rest until it is rid of both domestic feudal rulers and the foreign powers that keep them enthroned. **Business Week** (5/14) said that the "fervor of nationalism" represents "a massive social and economic revolution" in the Middle East.

The Eisenhower Doctrine offers no solution for the Israeli-Arab conflict. G. F. Hudson, Oxford professor and an editor of the London **Economist**, pointed out (**New Leader**, 4/15) that this conflict "is a political necessity for politicians aiming at increased influence in the Arab world to dwell on it and exacerbate it as much as possible."

Hudson asserted that British and French support for Israel was only temporary; that Secy. of State Dulles will sell out Israel to win Arab friendship, since "he understands very well the price that has to be paid ultimately for the ends he pursues and he is prepared to pay it."

THE ARAB DEMANDS: After a trip to Israel, **France-Observateur** editor Gilles Martinet said (4/4) that the basic issue preventing Israeli-Arab peace is the Arab demand for revising Israel's frontiers to its 1947 boundaries, ending Jewish immigration and returning Arab refugees to their former homes in Israel—demands which Israel cannot meet without endangering its very existence.

Martinet felt that this issue cannot be resolved by force. He said time is needed to bring about the internal changes necessary in the Arab countries for them to accept the existence of Israel as a fact. These changes can take place only if the Middle East is at peace and free from external influences.

A PLAN PROPOSED: Non-Middle Eastern nations (U.S.S.R., U.S., India, Britain, France) can hasten these changes, Martinet said, by a policy of peace, which would include:

- An arms embargo on the countries of the Middle East (themselves incapable of manufacturing arms).
- Naturalization of the region, free passage through its waterways and abolition of military bases there.
- Massive economic aid, permitting, among other things, resettling of Arab refugees in the Euphrates valley. (This is what Moscow has proposed and the West has rejected.)

Martinet was aware that this proposal seems too utopian, considering the stakes the Big Powers have in the Middle East. Yet, he felt, "they happen to be the only objectives for which world democratic opinion can argue and struggle."

Goshal: L. A., Minneapolis. Detroit, Chicago

THE GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal will make four stopovers on his way back from speaking at the Third Annual Northern California Banquet May 18 in San Francisco.

On Friday, May 24, he speaks in Los Angeles at Factor Hall, 6075 W. Pico Blvd., on "The Middle East—Is Peace Possible?"

He will be in Minneapolis Sunday, May 26, in time to speak at the GUARDIAN Spring Frolic at 7:30 p.m. in the Brunswick Room of the Hotel Andrews. Malvina Reynolds, guitarist and composer, will be the singing guest star.

Chicagoans have arranged several get-togethers for him on Tues. and Wed., May 28-29. He will then go to Detroit to speak on the Arab-Israel conflict at the Highland Park Y.M.C.A., 8 p.m. Friday, May 31.

SUPREME COURT DECISION IS KEY

End of blacklist possible in Hollywood court test

By David B. Robison
Special to the GUARDIAN
HOLLYWOOD

THIS YEAR'S Oscar Derby promises to be the longest in the history of the Hollywood Motion Picture Academy. Nominations are still wide open in at least one unscheduled category: "The Writer Most Likely to be Robert Rich."

Rich, it will be remembered, is the unknown writer of the film **The Brave One** which won the 1957 award for the best original motion picture story (GUARDIAN 4/15).

The classic picture of an academy award winner is that of a breathless figure emotionally thanking all the wonderful people responsible for the exquisite moment in question. It has become apparent that Robert Rich is not only breathless—he is also non-corporeal. He refuses to materialize! His statuette remains, uncalled for, on a shelf in the office of the Academy.

SHOCKING WORD: Dalton Trumbo, one of the leading contenders for the abovementioned, unscheduled "Robert Rich" nomination, was recently interviewed on a nationally-televised news program. In response to the interviewer's questions he stated categorically that there is a blacklist (shocking word on television!), and that although he has been publicly declared unemployable, motion picture employers have continued to hire him—at cut rates—on the so-called black market. He added that there are many blacklisted writers of talent, and he assumed that they were similarly employed.

There were no angry denials from the motion picture industry the next day that a blacklist existed. Nor did anybody care to challenge Trumbo's statement that the studios—major and minor alike—were buying the services of the very people whom they had ceremoniously drummed out of the industry.

THE KING IS NAKED: Although an editorial in **Daily Variety** lamely attempted

DALTON TRUMBO
Aired the issue publicly

to minimize Trumbo's assertions, its main anger was directed toward the recent Academy ruling which had barred Michael Wilson, author of the screenplay of **Friendly Persuasion**, from eligibility for an Academy award. It called on the Academy to rescind the ruling and thus restore dignity and fairness to the annual competition.

The general industry response to the Trumbo interview has been a mixture of approval, amusement and embarrassment. The blacklist and the black market have not heretofore been approved topics of conversation, though everyone knew they existed. Trumbo has reenacted, therefore, the classic role of the little boy in the tale of the Emperor's clothes.

The impatience of entertainment industry employers with the restrictions of the blacklist has become increasingly evident. Lillian Hellman's name recently appeared on television screens in NBC presentations of **The Little Foxes** and **The Lark.** Twentieth Century Fox did indeed,

MICHAEL WILSON
The challenger

as Trumbo stated, purchase Edward Chodorov's play **Oh Men, Oh Women,** even though they removed his name from the motion picture version. The French film, **Rififi,** was released in New York with full credit given to the director, Jules Dassin.

RULING IS SOUGHT: Columbia Pictures hired Carl Foreman, author of the screenplay of **Home of the Brave,** to produce a series of four pictures, and subsequently decided to ignore a protest from the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The VFW claimed that Foreman had not been a "cooperative" witness and therefore should not be employed. There are, in addition, the many instances of Broadway actors and actresses who retained their roles in plays despite appearances before Congressional Committees, and, of course, the unrestrained use of "unacceptable" names in the release of old films to TV.

It would appear, therefore, that many employers—particularly the independent motion picture producers and television packagers—would welcome some uniform ruling which would eliminate the blacklist as an institution. This situation gives particular meaning to the current court case of **Wilson et al vs. Loew's Incorporated et al.**

THE CASE OF THE 23: The plaintiffs in this suit, originally filed in July, 1953, are 23 actors, screenwriters and film workers. The defendants are the major motion picture studios who are charged with having combined to exclude the plaintiffs from employment in the motion picture industry; with having induced other employers to do the same; and with having agreed to blacklist "all persons" who invoke the privilege against self-incrimination before the Un-American Activities Committee, or who otherwise fail to cooperate with that Committee. The plaintiffs ask for sizable damages.

The defendants—the motion picture studios—have replied to the suit with demurrers, asking that the complaint be dismissed. A demurrer in effect says: Even if all the allegations of the plaintiffs are true, the plaintiffs have no cause for action, because their complaint involves an act which was perfectly legal and proper. In other words, the demurrer does not deny the conspiracy to blacklist, it merely comments: So what?

NO, NO, AND NO: In the initial hearing of July, 1954, Judge Ellsworth Meyer sustained the demurrer and dismissed the complaint. In his opinion he stated that the privilege against self-incrimination was not a historical privilege of any depth. In fact, he added, it was incorporated "in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution on the insistence of only four of the original 13 states." By this curious logic it would appear that the Constitution itself has only a limited validity since it was designed by only 13 of the present 48 states.

Judge Meyer's ruling was upheld by the Court of Appeal in June, 1956, and in September of the same year the Supreme Court of California refused, without explanation, to hear the case.

Feeling that substantial Federal questions were involved, the plaintiffs petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court for a hearing. "The liberty to pursue a calling," the petition pointed out, "is one of the most fundamental of all constitutional freedoms, as essential as the right to life itself." The right of the individual employer to hire or discharge an individual employe is not questioned. The gist of the wrong is the "monolithic combination" which effectively throttles competition among employers for employes, depriving the employes of their livelihood without due process.

A MAJOR TEST: The U.S. Supreme Court recently agreed to hold a hearing on the matter. The hearing, probably in November, will not concern itself with whether or not a blacklist exists, but will deal with the far more significant issue of whether combination to blacklist on the basis of use of the Fifth Amendment constitutes legal cause for action. What is therefore involved is far broader than the specific complaint of the plaintiffs from Hollywood. The entire institution of the political blacklist—in **all** fields—is under review.

While it is possible that the Court might choose to rule on a technicality without coming to grips with the main issue, it seems highly unlikely that it will do so. Granting of certiorari is a token of the importance which they apparently attach to the case.

Any favorable decision for **Wilson et al.,** on any ground, will mean that the case will go back to the lower court where the trial, originally denied because of the demurrer, will finally be held. Then the plaintiffs would have the relatively simple job of proving that they were indeed blacklisted.

Since an injunction against continuation of the blacklist would also then become a probability, the total effect would reach into every area where economic reprisals have been used to stifle political non-conformity.

Congressional committees: Please note carefully

Excerpt from the charge to the jury by Justice Sir Patrick Devlin in the case of Dr. John Bodkin Adams, acquitted of murder in London recently:

"He [Adams] stands upon his right and does not speak. I make it quite clear I am not criticizing him. I do not criticize it at all. I hope the day never comes when that right is denied to anyone.

"The law on this matter reflects the natural voice of England—our horror at the idea a man may be questioned and forced to speak and perhaps condemn himself out of his own mouth."

Herblock in Washington Post
"We're not going to keep you cooped up in the hold."

"THE KISS OF DEATH"

Dixiecrats burden civil rights bill with phony riders

CONGRESSIONAL PROPONENTS of civil rights legislation were still talking bravely last week, but Southern opponents were still in control and chances of passage in this session seemed to have run out.

Backers of the Administration bill to strengthen Negro voting rights in the South have contended from the start that the measure would have to reach the Senate floor before the end of May if a Southern filibuster was to be worn down. But on May 8, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas outlined his legislative program for May: "I am hopeful that the Senate will be able to proceed to the consideration of the Hells Canyon bill, perhaps the housing bill, and perhaps an immigration bill, during this month." He left no room for civil rights.

THE WRONG RIGHT: In the Senate Judiciary Committee, chairman James Eastland was conducting desultory hearings on the measure which presumably could drag out all summer. On April 29 Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), who is conducting the labor probe, further complicated the civil rights program by proposing a "right-to-work" amendment to it. "Right-to-work" is the name given to measures that would destroy labor union security by outlawing union contracts making employment conditional on union membership.

Under the McClellan rider, the "right to work" would be declared a "civil right" equal to the right to vote; anyone exerting pressures to make workers join a union would be liable to one year in jail and a $1,000 fine. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), who has led the civil rights fight in the Senate, says "right-to-work" is a "tragic misnomer" and that it should be known as "the union-busting amendment." Its adoption, he warns, would be the "kiss of death" for the civil rights bill.

Other crippling amendments are still to come, the most notable being one by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.) providing for mandatory jury trials in Federal contempt of court cases arising from enforcement of civil rights legislation. This would nullify the pending bill because no Southern white jury would convict in a Negro civil rights case.

There was some talk in the Senate of getting the bill to the floor by by-passing the Judiciary Committee, but no action.

WHO'S TO BLAME? In the House, chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) of the Rules Committee was pursuing the same dilatory tactics of drawn-out hearings. There Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.) pledged that the bill will be amended on the House floor to provide for jury trials. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) dismissed the Southerners' jury trial arguments as a "lot of malarkey," but some timid Northern "liberals" seemed ready to go along with it as an easy way out.

The Democratic Party exhibited its hopeless North-South division when its new 24-member Advisory Council adopted three policy statements over the May 3 week-end and failed to mention civil rights. It went on record against Federal right-to-work legislation, but took no note of the fact that that issue is now directly linked to the civil rights bill.

But it took a Northern Republican supporter of the civil rights measure to fix in advance the blame for its eventual defeat. Speaking on a TV program on May 4, Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) warned the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, working for a turn-out of 50,000 persons on May 17 at the Lincoln Memorial, that any "march on Washington" by civil rights "crusaders" would only "stir up" the Southern opposition and lead to a filibuster.

'THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE'

The present leadership of American Negroes

By W.E.B. Du Bois

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, head of the Dept. of Social Sciences at Howard University and past president of the American Economic Assn., has just issued in English a book which first appeared in France. **The Black Bourgeoisie*** is a study of the "rise of a new Middle Class in the United States of America." It is a stern and biting protest at the way in which American Negroes have turned from their earlier intellectual leadership and gone in leash to a blatant group of conspicuous spenders, whose widely-advertised economic basis is so flimsy as to bring them face to face with a blank wall of negation.

The first significance of this work lies in directing attention to the rise of class stratification among the grandchildren of the black slaves. Most social students continue to regard American Negroes as essentially an undifferentiated group. A glance at the increasing differences of income among them and the growing diversity of occupation quickly dispels this assumption.

THE "TALENTED TENTH": Even prominent Negro leaders long thought that a Negro intelligentsia would be able to lift the Negro mass upward as a largely self-

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Any good will left for Alabama?"

contained social unit, with a minimum of labor exploitation and a maximum of uplifting progress. This was the doctrine of Negro social leadership by a "Talented Tenth," which had its kernel of truth. But some Negro leaders early pointed out that with the tremendous growth of Big Industry in America, no self-directed Negro economy could succeed; that neither Negro consumers' cooperation nor Negro business as such would be allowed to develop. However none of these thinkers followed this thought to the logical conclusion, that only under socialism could a minority group economy rise and survive.

Frazier touches on this failure of Negro leadership, but emphasizes the history of the way in which a Negro Middle Class arose, and the trends of its present leadership. He notes the cultural impact of the slave plantation and Western civilization; and the gradual rise after emancipation of a "nation within a nation" with bounding lines of color caste and poverty.

IT DIDN'T SUCCEED: The first chapter of the book records how the ill-starred Freedman's Savings Bank instilled the idea of rise by thrift and saving. Even the unforgivable failure of this venture of white philanthropy left among Negroes the urge to protect their savings and mutual aid funds by starting their own banks. Many Negro banks were organized; some flourished and a few survive, but most failed, just as most smaller banks among whites have failed, and largely for the same reasons. Frantic and continued efforts at Negro business enterprises followed. These, as Frazier points out, never succeeded as Booker Washington and other Negro leaders expected. The reason was not inefficiency (which certainly played its part), but a fact which Frazier perhaps does not sufficiently stress. The fact is that a handicapped group tried to get to its economic feet in the midst of the era of tremendous development of the modern monopolistic capitalist system.

While Negro business made no great success then, and succeeded best in areas where race prejudice left an unoccupied gap, nevertheless the migration of Negroes out of the South and the gradual breaking of the Color Line in employment integrated Negroes increasingly into the national economy and gave rise to a Negro Middle Class. In 1900, nine-tenths of the Negroes lived in the former slave states under color caste which perpetuated many aspects of slavery. Fifty years later a third of the 15,000,000 Negroes lived in the North, where color discrimination was less and economic opportunity better. Also, while, in 1900, 77% of the Negroes lived in the country and depended mainly on decadent agriculture, in 1950 two-thirds lived in cities. This spelled social revolution and, as Frazier estimates, it means that from a fifth to a sixth of American Negroes now belong to a new Middle Class of professional men, including preachers and teachers, entertainers, social workers and nurses; artisans with skills; managers and officials, and a rapidly increasing number of clerical workers.

ROOT OF THE EVIL: Measuring this class differentiation by income is not easy, since all capitalist nations regard private income a secret to be guarded against public knowledge. Our best income statistics are therefore guesses. The median income of Negro families is re-

DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
Beware the world of make believe

ported as a little over half that of whites. Among Negroes 16% have $3,000 or more a year, while 55% among whites are in this bracket. Over half of all Negro families receive less than $1,000 a year, while one-half of one per cent receive $5,000 or more. In the North this latter class rises to one per cent and, in cities like New York and Chicago, to 10%. Here is the basis for volumes on the economic plight of Negroes.

Frazier shows how Big Business took over the education of Negroes from the hands of post-Civil War philanthropy. This turned training for social leadership and ethical ideals into training for income. The educated Negro was left small chance for thinking independently of the national thought. Despite the role of the Negro Church and the fraternal organizations, most of his racial ties were severed and he sought a new social orientation. Black nationalism of the Garvey type was stopped before birth by colonial imperialism. The literary and artistic renaissance of the '20s and '30s was promising but was stopped by lack of economic foundation.

Negro businessmen exploited Negro labor directly in their enterprises, and the rest of the Negro Middle Class became links in the white exploitation of all labor. Meantime the Negro money-makers began to displace the black intelligentsia as leaders of the race, even though their income was less than their conspicuous spending implied. In this respect Frazier might have noted that white middle class folk are falling for the same temptation, as installment buying demonstrates.

THERE WERE MODELS: This then is the world of "make believe" into which many leaders of the Black Bourgeoisie are guiding the American Negro. This, Franklin Frazier insists, is moving toward nothing and he lashes Negro society with bitter and sarcastic invective. I strongly sympathize with the author in his main thesis. I share his dislike for periodicals like **Ebony** and join in criticism of the social expenditures of Negro college fraternities. But I would add that **Ebony** is a symptom, not a cause—and that **Life** and **Vogue** are its forerunners in sin. Also it is the all-powerful white America that tempts Negroes to follow its own lunatic fringe.

We should remember that human beings must have human intercourse. They must meet one another, talk and mingle; their adolescent children must be guided; they must travel, go on vacations and seek recreation. Yet, in quest of these things, Negroes meet at every turn frustrations, repressions, criticism and insult bordering on violence.

When, some years back, my granddaughter was invited to a "coming out" party tendered by professional Negroes of Baltimore, my first reaction was like Frazier's at this "aping of white folk." But the party was lovely. It brought together a group of young folks who needed to know one another. Their colored skins and gay costumes made a strangely beautiful sight and gave these young folks just what they needed for knowing and seeing one another, choosing mates and facing a hostile world with faith and joy. Such Negroes need not, as Frazier fears, become ashamed of their race and past. On the contrary, they may for the first time see themselves as they should be.

SILENT LEADERSHIP: Frazier also here fails to point out the voluntary abdication of the Negro intelligentsia from holding and reasserting that leadership which is theirs by right. In the face of the current anti-socialist hysteria most of these leaders have been as silent as our white leaders. Negro colleges teach no socialism and malign Russia and China. Yet they must know that without the overthrow of capitalist monopoly the Negro cannot survive in the United States as a self-respecting cultural unit, integrating gradually into the nation, but not on terms which imply self-destruction or loss of his possible gifts to America.

Here then is a book of keen analysis and fearless reasoning. Frazier braves the criticism of his racial fellows, as well as the "I told-you-sos" of all the Byrds and Eastlands, for the sake of his right to say what he believes, and not simply what is popular.

* *THE BLACK BOURGEOISE, by E. Franklin Frazier, the Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 264 pp. $4.*

South Africa fund

THE American Committee on Africa, 4 W. 40th St., N.Y.C. 18, has established a special Defense Fund to provide legal aid and financial relief for the families of those arrested on the charge of treason in South Africa. The case will be in the courts for months and costs will be tremendous. $56,000 is needed immediately, according to information reaching the ACOA. Dean James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York has undertaken the chairmanship of the fund. Distinguished sponsors include James Carey, Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, Archibald McLeish, Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Ike gives Negro reporters the run-around

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER at his news conferences has been giving the Associated Negro Press' White House reporter, Alice Dunnigan, the run-around, ANP charged last week. It said Mr. Eisenhower was afraid he'd be embarrassed by a question on civil rights. The Negro news agency said of one session: "The ANP reporter bounced up and down for the duration of the half-hour conference, trying to get some recognition from the President. But each time [he] would look away to the other side of the aisle, or would recognize someone at her back, her side, or in front, but never the ANP gal."

Chicago **Defender** Washington correspondent Ethel L. Payne, another victim, said Eisenhower's attitude "is one of those nebulous things that you can't quite put your finger on; nevertheless, there are definite signs of an 'agreement' of silence on the No. 1 domestic issue of civil rights."

THE REASON WHY: The Baltimore **Afro-American** (4/27) said Presidential secy. Bernard Shanley never answered a letter from Miss Payne and Mrs. Dunnigan asking the reason for this "studied practice of refusing to recognize" Negro reporters. The **Afro** story said:

"Both Mrs. Dunnigan and Miss Payne on previous occasions have incurred the wrath of White House assistants. Miss Payne, who angered the President with racial questions some 18 months ago, was summoned to the White House by press secy. James Hagerty and warned she would lose her White House press credential if she wasn't 'careful'. Mrs. Dunnigan was also called into the Capitol Gallery and questioned about some public relations work she had done for a government official." Nothing came of the inquiry.

ANP said Miss Payne first "infuriated" the President last year when she told him the **Defender** would like to know his position on banning jimcrow from interstate travel. The President "blasted out that he was doing nothing for any special group." A few months later she asked the government's policy "on allowing the aircraft carrier 'Midway' to permit Negro personnel to be subjected to discrimination in Cape Town, S. Africa." The question was deleted from the official conference transcript released to TV stations and certain newspapers.

CLEAR IT WITH HAGERTY: ANP said Mrs. Dunnigan "continued prodding the President on civil rights questions until she was instructed by White House officials that her queries should be cleared first with the White House, so the President might be briefed on them and be able to give a specific answer." She "graciously complied" on one occasion, "only to be asked not to raise the question until the following week." The reason given was that the White House "believes in" accomplishing things "quietly, behind the scenes." After that she refused to check with the White House, ANP said, and she has been ignored at the conferences.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first President to talk to a Negro reporter on an equal basis with white newsmen. The late Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, a personal friend of President and Mrs. Roosevelt, got Harry McAlpin accredited as the first Negro reporter at White House news conferences. He represented the Negro Newspaper Publishers Assn.

U. S. bomb tests

(Continued from Page 1)

posed them and the claims were dropped.

At the Groom mine, just outside the bomb site, Mr. and Mrs. Dan Sheehan were warned to stay away from the mine from 6 a.m. until noon on May 6, 1952. After that, they were told it would be safe to return. Later in the month "bead-like particles" fell on their camp. These were identified by the AEC as fragments of the tower on which the bomb rested when it exploded. Shortly afterward the skin on cattle in the neighborhood began to change color. Mrs. Sheehan now has cancer and blames that on the tests.

In Hurricane and St. George, Utah, after the 1953 tests, close to 6,000 people were subjected to heavy radiation for 16 days; the AEC had warned them it would be necessary to stay indoors only 2½ hours after a blast. During one period of 24 hours, Jacobs reports, these thousands of people were subjected to radiation 1,260 times that listed as the "permissible" concentration by the Natl. Committee on Radiation Protection of the Natl. Bureau of Standards.

THE MISSING 15: Sheep, horses and cattle died in 1953 after drinking from irradiated water holes. Vehicles on the highway that year, including one Greyhound bus, were checked and more than 100 were found so badly irradiated they had to be decontaminated.

A motel called the Riverside Cabins on U.S. 91 on April 25, 1953, received the heaviest fallout dose ever recorded on an

Herblock in Washington Post
"Look, lady—you don't see me worrying."

inhabited spot in the U.S. There were 15 people there at the time. The AEC said nothing, made no effort to warn those people that they were contaminated. Nobody knows now, writes Jacobs, what has happened to those 15.

The **Reporter** story started from a few clippings from the Tonopah, Nev., **Times-Bonanza** whose editor Robert A. Crandall has remained uneasy despite AEC assurances that all is well. Crandall told Jacobs: "Every time we've had an adverse comment in the paper or what might be interpreted as adverse by the AEC, I've had a couple of boys—or three or four—come in to see me. They come into the office and their tactic has always been along these lines—'Well, you don't believe that the AEC for a moment thinks there is any possible harm in the tests or that any civilian could possibly be injured in any way'?" Then, said Crandall, they talk about the dangers of scaring the public with stories that could give old people heart failure. Crandall told Jacobs: "At other times they say something like this, 'Well, of course, the Communists would like us to stop the tests, too'."

ACTS OF HOSTILITY: Jacobs in his 19-page story does not say there is incontrovertible proof that the blasts are responsible for all of the casualties, human and animal, which people in the area attribute to them. His findings would indicate that the AEC has not disproved those claims, that it cannot be sure of the safety of people in the path of the fall-out clouds. It has been wrong before as when it traced a pattern for the fall-out only to find wind vagaries carrying radiation far beyond the pattern. It has predicted over-all fall-out without calculating on "hot spots" of concentrated radiation that showed up in previous tests.

Reporter editor Max Ascoli in his editorial says that the Nevada tests prove that "the AEC has frequently used the strictures of the security regulations to cover up its failures to give adequate protection or warning . . ." Ascoli credits the AEC with good intentions, then adds: "But for the many little acts of uncandor in covering up probably inevitable miscalculations, for a tendency to gloss over with public-relations blandishments the evidence of its failures—for this the AEC must be held accountable."

Ascoli sums up: "In fact, all nuclear-weapons tests, no matter how tiny the weapon, are acts of hostility against mankind . . . The remedy? . . . An old man in Equatorial Africa has said the word. The leading German scientists have said the same word. The word is NO."

New trial ordered in harboring case

AT GUARDIAN press time it was announced that the Supreme Court had ordered a new trial for three persons sentenced to prison on charges of harboring fugitive Communist leader Robert G. Thompson in a California mountain cabin. The 6-2 decision said evidence had been obtained by unlawful seizure.

The three are Sidney Steinberg and Samuel I. Coleman, who got three years each, and Mrs. Shirley Kremen, who got one year. All have been free in high bail.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Aren't you ashamed to refuse H-bomb work when you think of your Russian and American colleagues?"

American Forum

(Continued from Page 1)

presidents including at present Prof. Sibley, Prof. Kermit Eby of the Univ. of Chicago, author Milton Mayer of Carmel, Calif.; Bayard Rustin, War Resisters League; John T. McManus, general manager of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN; and Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky. Sidney Lens, Chicago union leader, is secretary.

Others of the national committee include James Aronson, GUARDIAN editor; Joseph Atkins, Baltimore; M. H. Baker, Minneapolis; Albert Blumberg, N.Y.; Carl Braden, Louisville; Harald Charbnau, Chicago; Bert Cochran, editor, **American Socialist;** Jack Cypin, Nassau Co., N.Y.; Dorothy Day, editor, **Catholic Worker;** Dave Dellinger, N.J.; Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, N.Y.; J. Stuart Innerst, Pasadena, Calif.; Russell Johnson, Boston; Conrad Lynn, Rockland Co., N.Y.; C. H. Mayer, Andes, N.Y.; Clifford T. McAvoy, N.Y.; David McReynolds, N.Y.; William Neumann, Baltimore; Russ Nixon, N.Y.; Sam Pollock, Cleveland; Joseph Starobin, N.Y.; Fritjof Thygeson, Berkeley, Calif.; Charles Walker, Cheyney, Pa.; Milton Zaslow, N.Y.

Both the national committee and the vice-presidencies are incomplete. Mr. Muste emphasized that those serving on the National committee and as vice-presidents do so as individuals and not as delegates representative of any group.

The full statement of purpose follows:

AMERICAN FORUM for Socialist Education is organized in order to stimulate study and serious, untrammelled discussion of the problems of socialism in the United States.

There is a growing interest in such discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives—however deep and bitter their differences may have been. Moreover, there are indications that in the ranks of labor, among farmers, in the colleges and among the American people generally there are many who do not accept the status quo and who are developing an interest in political discussions provided a fresh and undogmatic approach is undertaken.

Those who organize American Forum do so not on the ground that the problems of building a sound and effective American Left have been solved and agreement for action has been reached. Their simple aim is to promote study and especially continuous discussion in a situation where many of the answers are not known and much division, confusion and consequent frustration exist. They believe that all individuals from all elements should be involved in this, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry.

American Forum holds that eventual socialist unity requires clarity on fundamental social issues, along with tolerance of differences on other matters and comradely discussion of them within a common forum. It believes, therefore, that all important problems must be frankly and sharply discussed but equally that the discussion should be oriented to the future and not the past and concentrate on discussion of the program of a democratic socialist movement in the U.S. and how such a movement may be brought into being.

Since it is of the greatest importance that large numbers of people, including youth, be drawn into discussion locally, from labor unions, farm organizations, colleges, churches, etc., American Forum will have as one of its aims the formation, encouragement and assistance of local groups or committees for this purpose. This may include assistance to local groups in setting up forums, etc., and going beyond mere occasional discussion meetings.

A. J. MUSTE (r.) **& W. E. B. DU BOIS**
At an earlier unity meeting

Other purposes will be:

1. To call attention to the various periodicals and publications of groups whose members are involved in the discussions and encourage people to read them; and to publish bulletins or pamphlets under its own imprint as occasion requires.

2. To organize regional and national conferences, and by these and other means to contribute not only to intellectual clarification but to the building of a new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country.

N.Y. MEETING IN JUNE: The American Forum plans a program of literature to stimulate discussion and organization of branches in all areas of the country. A New York meeting is planned for early June.

Further information may be obtained directly from the Rev. A. J. Muste at Liberation Magazine, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N.Y.

JOHN T. McMANUS
A vice president of the Forum

A Presbyterian blow at jimcrow

THE SOUTHERN Presbyterian Church early this month gave jimcrow a slap, the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/11) said, "that should stun segregationists" for a while. The Church's 475 delegates representing 850,000 members from 16 Southern states met in Birmingham and adopted a 4,000-word resolution considered by many to be among the strongest statements on racial issues ever made by so influential a church body. The resolution, among other things:

- Strongly defended Koinonia, the interracial community under racist attack near Americus, Ga.
- Declared the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council sought "to gain [their points] by intimidation, reprisal and violence" and that, therefore, "it is unthinkable that a Christian should join" either.
- Criticized Christians for having never "countermanded racial discrimination" and said "the supreme law of the land requires it no longer be practiced in public schools."
- Stated that churchmen, "ambassadors of reconciliation," must lead the way in breaking down "aloofness" between white and non-white worshippers.
- Deplored loss of "too many capable people" to industry through job discrimination.

Said the **Afro:** "There was only a scattering of negative votes as the resolution was adopted . . . [It] was presented by Col. Francis P. Powell Miller of Charlottesville, Va., a city presently making a last-ditch stand trying to avoid integration of public schools, despite court order."

One way of finding out

WHEN Secretary of State Dulles testifies before Congressional committees, he doodles. He used to leave his doodles —most elaborate and intriguing they were —on the table when he departed, and they became collectors' items.

Recently, however, he has been careful to sweep up his doodles upon leaving and stuff them in his pocket.

Someone suggested last week that intelligence officers might have warned Mr. Dulles against leaving his doodles around "since they might contain clues to his foreign policy."

—N. Y. **Times**, 4/15

NATO lays egg

(Continued from Page 1)

NATO could reach no agreement or even "common views" on the Middle East; the Eisenhower Doctrine is viewed with little enthusiasm by the U.S.'s Western partners.

There has been little to suggest any success in finding a "NATO solution" for Cyprus. But Greece's adherence to the Eisenhower Doctrine may be related to these efforts. For, in accepting the Doctrine, Greece risks estranging Arab countries with which it has been developing important political and commercial ties. The U.S. clearly hopes to use these ties to win a more sympathetic reception for its Doctrine from the Arabs. But Greece, it is believed, would not give something for nothing and may have received assurances of intensified U.S. pressure on Britain for a Cyprus solution acceptable to Greece.

The crucial question of NATO strategy was also unresolved at Bonn and threatened "a crisis of serious proportions" (London **Times**). Britain's new military policy of all-out reliance on the "nuclear deterrent" has underlined for all to see what was implicit in NATO from the beginning: the expendability of Western Europe in any war.

The revolt of the "continentals" against this "over-reliance" on nuclear weapons is not new—it springs up whenever the peripheral strategy is brought into the open—but it has perhaps never been stronger. For the atomic transformation of NATO spells out too clearly unchecked U.S. domination, and ignores too blatantly the real situations existing in the various member countries.

NATIONAL RIVALRIES: The position of the American military, as expressed through Supreme Commander Norstad, appears to recognize the revolt since he is demanding both conventional armaments and the "nuclear deterrent." But this position reckons without the proved inability of Western Europe to support such a program (the new British policy, after all, was largely forced by economic necessity). It also ignores the growing Western European fear, however confusedly expressed, that the new arms developments vastly increase the dangers inherent in the continuing tension. These fears are sharpened by the threat of German nuclear rearmament.

These fears and differences feed, too, on basic national rivalries. Some British papers, for example, suggest that the W. German fuss over British manpower cuts in Germany arises from the fact that this will also mean a cut in the sum the British pay Bonn in dollars and gold for maintaining their occupation troops. W. German dollar and gold reserves today are roughly double those of the sterling area and W. Germany is crowding Britain in every area where British economic interests are vital and its power weak—Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Afghanistan, etc. But W. Europe itself is where British and W. German interests compete most sharply. This cutthroat rivalry lies behind the continuing fight over the "organization" of W. Europe: the Little Europe of the Six versus the Europe of the Fifteen, the Schuman Plan versus the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Western European Union versus Britain's "Grand Design," the Common Market versus the larger free trade area. In a smaller, tighter Europe, W. Germany would be the dominant power; in the larger, looser organization, Britain would dominate.

ADENAUER PINS ONE ON MACMILLAN

"Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered": Solomon II. 8

ADENAUER AND MACMILLAN: Talks between British Prime Minister Macmillan and Chancellor Adenauer in Bonn were designed to gloss over the open British-W. German rift. Their joint communique suggested that Adenauer had won British support for Bonn's atomic rearmament (but because popular opposition is strong it didn't openly say so). Macmillan's press conference threw cold water on the idea of a neutral zone in Central Europe before Germany is reunified, an idea which has been winning growing support even in W. Germany itself. (President Eisenhower's declaration that he is prepared to give "sympathetic study" to this proposal also measured the mounting demand here for an alternative to NATO's unrealistic policies.)

The leading NATO powers have thus reaffirmed all the cold war clichés of the last decade in the context of atomic rearmament, and in so doing, they have brought NATO to perhaps its most serious crisis yet. But NATO's Bonn session was only one move in the international diplomatic contest. Experts here point to counter currents, visible, for example, at the London disarmament talks. They believe a partial and preliminary agreement on disarmament may be reached there. This agreement would apply, they believe, to conventional arms, in which the great powers are already unilaterally making reductions. Even so, as the London **Observer** pointed out, "any agreement on mutually supervised reduction, even in a field of diminishing importance, may pave the way for an understanding on more vital issues." And it is becoming clear that the new weapons developments which so aggravate existing tensions are imposing a kind of imperative to seek ways of settlement.

FRANCE IS TENSE: In W. Europe elements of change are clear even though their direction is not and the movement is slow. In France, the London **Economist** reported, there has been no real truce in the battle of conscience over Algeria and many who once believed in a military solution no longer do so. Former Premier Mendes-France failed in his effort to get the Radical Party Congress to demand withdrawal of Radical Ministers from the Government because of its Algerian policy. But his bitter attack on the Socialists for leading the nation to "a point where it must choose between fascism and communism" found an echo in the heavily-charged atmosphere here. The economic situation is worsening and taxpayers, now apathetic, may feel differently when the pinch of new taxes is soon felt.

ITALY IS RESTLESS: In Italy, the fall of the Segni government brought into the open a long-latent crisis. The decision of Social Democratic leader Saragat to withdraw from the government was reportedly made in an effort to regain power in his own party which has been steadily weakened because of his right-wing policies. His rejection of unity with Nenni's Socialist Party—because it refused to abandon its neutralist foreign policy—almost split his own party.

In the meantime, Nenni's party has lost votes to the Communists in recent elections, both in districts where it has presented a common list or common candidates with the Social Democrats and where it has run alone. Italian Socialist Party leader Lelio Basso said (**France Observateur**) this suggests "that the electors absolutely do not want an orientation toward the position of Saragat."

The crisis has grown in Italy with the government's steady turn toward the Right and the people's growing protest movement. In Paris, **Le Monde** said: "It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance and power of the popular movements of protest which are developing more and more in Italy."

TAFT-HARTLEY CASE

Govt. drops its fight to jail Ben Gold

BEN GOLD, first trade unionist to be prosecuted under the Taft-Hartley provision for non-Communist affidavits, was freed last week from a four-year-old indictment when the government decided not to try him a second time.

Gold, who publicly resigned from the Communist Party before signing an affidavit in 1950, was convicted after a six-week trial in 1954 and sentenced to one to three years in prison. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction because an FBI agent talked to members of the jury during the trial.

U.S. Attorney Oliver Gasch moved to dismiss the indictment on the ground that certain material evidence is not now available. All the witnesses against Gold were ex-Communists, many of them paid informers for the government. Some have since been discredited and others are not available.

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A LIMITED EDITION of **The Rosenbergs: Poems of the United States** is now available for $3 at Sierra Press, P.O. Box 96, Long Island City 4, N.Y.

The work contains poems by George Abbe, W.E.B. Du Bois, Mike Gold, Aaron Kramer, Alfred Kreymborg, Walter Lowenfels, A. B. Magil, Eve Merriam, Yuri Suhl, Dora Teitelboim and many others, including Helen Sobell, whose husband Morton was convicted with the Rosenbergs and for whom a nationwide movement is seeking freedom or a new trial. The poems were collected and the volume edited by Martha Millet. A foreword quotes flom Longfellow's **The New England Tragedies** the words of Giles Corey spurning the "Confess and live" proposal of the Salem witchhunters:

> . . . if a word could save me, and that word
> Were not the Truth; nay, if it did but swerve
> A hair's-breath from the Truth, I would not say it!

The volume closes with Bartolomeo Vanzetti's last speech to the court before going to his death in the now-acknowledged Sacco-Vanzetti frameup of the 20's.

Pete Seeger concert in New York May 19

PETE SEEGER, one of America's best-known folksingers, will be the featured artist at a concert sponsored by the Metropolitan Music School, at the Pythian, 135 W. 70 St., at 2:30 p.m., Sunday, May 19.

Seeger's program will include story songs, play songs, blues and tall tales. The program will also include a sonatina for trumpet by David Simon. Proceeds will go to the School's scholarship fund.

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DR. HENRY HITT CRANE, leading U.S. churchman, speaks on "Religious Liberty and Congressional Investigations." Luncheon, Wed., May 22, 12:15 p.m., McBurney Y.M.C.A. 215 W. 23 St., NYC. Other speakers: Dr. Harry F. Ward, Rev. William Howard Melish, John T. McManus. Reservations $2 through Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28 St. MU 5-1361.

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Notes from Liberty

LEADING UP TO A "HARD SELL..."

WE WERE VERY gratified to see that the **New York Times** had reviewed our current selection, **The un-Americans** by Alvah Bessie. Their review in the April 28 issue of the **Book Review** was not a review of the novel actually; it was a kind of dutiful attack on Mr. Bessie's viewpoint. Indeed the novel itself was not reviewed at all although we did manage to get a lecture on Russia, Communism, and Hungary in the course of Mr. R. L. Duffus' full column attack. The review was headlined "Apologist for Tyranny," which gives some idea of the approach.

This is the second novel (indeed the second book) which we have ever had reviewed by the **Times**. The first was the first novel we published, **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir** by Ring Lardner, Jr. The **Times** reviewer was "lofty" and a bit above it all that time; didn't like Mr. Lardner's "broadsides against the Church;" "absurdly overdone," he thought, and thought the novel was "not **bona fide** satire."

But on that first novel there was a strong dissenter to the **Times'** view of Mr. Lardner's novel, and his name was Van Wyck Brooks. Mr. Brooks said, in a letter to the author, "You have a satirical talent of the very first quality, and there is nobody else I know of who is doing work like this, work that is so immensely important if our writing is to escape from the kind of doldrums it is now becalmed in . . . This book is a wonderful antidote to a lot of tendencies that are oppressive at the moment . . . You fly straight in the face of the power-loving boys who are trying to take us back to the middle ages . . . "

We think **Guardian** readers will find Alvah Bessie's novel also "a wonderful antidote to a lot of tendencies that are oppressive at the moment." In fact, we think Liberty Book Club itself is an indispensable source of books to all people who seek the truth, who protect dissent, who object strenuously to any kind of censorship.

Which brings us to the real nub of this column. We had intended to make it a "hard sell," but decided against it since our special offer which you will soon receive does that even better.

Will you watch for that package? Will you read it? And, having read it, will you take it most seriously? You ought to buy the books you do buy from Liberty—at a bargain. Our letter tells all about Liberty, how it runs, the books it selects, the kind of savings it provides, and how minor is your commitment when you join.

Watch for our letter.

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In one macabre respect, Wendell Willkie's dream of "one world" is coming to pass. In a planet torn by dissensions, millions everywhere live united in a common dread of the results attendant on continued tests of atomic weapons. Whatever unresolved problems remain after the London Conference adjourns, the U.S. and the Soviet Union face one commanding obligation—agreement to an immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests. This giant step will be the first positive one on the road to peace and the solution of many other vexing problems which beset us.

Muriel I. Symington

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Dr. Crane speaks in N. Y. May 22

DR. HENRY HITT CRANE, minister of Detroit's Central Methodist Church, founder of Fellowship of Methodist Pacifists and one of the nation's leading churchmen, will address a luncheon of the Religious Freedom Committee in New York City May 22 on the subject "Religious Liberty and Congressional Investigations."

The luncheon will be held at 12:15 p.m. at McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23 St. Reservations are $2 and may be obtained through Religious Freedom Committee, 118 E. 28 St., MU 5-1361. Other speakers will be Dr. Harry F. Ward, pres.-emeritus of Union Theological Seminary; Rev. William Howard Melish, Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Brooklyn; and John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN.

The Religious Freedom Committee seeks through the luncheon and other activities to heighten a public campaign against violations of democratic rights by Congressional committees; and to halt attacks on liberal church leaders and organizations and publications of "blacklists" by such committees.

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Ed.—**Guardian Vitamins'** Vitamin-Mineral formula sells for $2.75 postpaid.

Rose hips

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On your explanation, "Get Hep to (Rose) Hips," how much lemon juice or vinegar do you add? I intend to try it this coming fall. In the meantime, send a bottle of the Geriatric Formula vitamins.

O. Christensen

When the rose-hip mishmash is cooked, let stand for 24 hours in a pottery vessel. Then strain off the extract, bring it to a rolling boil and add two tablespoons of lemon juice or vinegar for each pint of extract. Next week: How to Catch Vitamin D with a Butterfly Net. — Ed.

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THE SCHOMBURG COLLECTION, on 135th Street just off Lenox Avenue in New York's Harlem, is a special kind of a library. It is devoted to Negro life and history and it grew out of the private collection of Negro treasures owned by Arthur A. Schomburg, presented to the New York Public Library in 1926 by the Carnegie Corporation. It deals with every phase of Negro life—in Africa, Europe, the West Indies, South America and the U. S.

To get there you may go through streets filled with tenements that break your heart if they don't fill it with anger. Stencilled in white paint on the walls next to the entrances is the legend: "This building condemned. Habitation is unlawful." The signs are put up by the City of New York—and the buildings are jammed with habitants who have no place else to live that they can afford. Across the street may be a vast rubble field which you hope one day will blossom with decent houses.

You cross Lenox Avenue alive with people and lights and taxis and noise and go up a few steps into the modest reading room of the Schomburg Collection. It is a most unusual night: the polite library silence has been replaced by an excited hubbub; the tables have been cleared and the room is filled to standing with expectant people. It is a special kind of night: the unveiling of a bust of America's most distinguished scholar, W.E.B. Du Bois.

THE CHAIRS ARE OCCUPIED by people whose faces you know in an instant: a well-known novelist, a great historian, a world-renowned basso; and by people whose faces you never saw before and are very glad to see: a proud grandmother and teen-age granddaughter, an African student, a little boy sandwiched between his mother and his aunt reading a book half tucked under his coat on his lap (one day he will say he was there too).

An independent Hollywood producer filming a life of Du Bois has set up hot lights to record the event in color. The chairman, lawyer Bernard Reswick, a Brooklyn Heights neighbor of the Du Boises, tells how his group got the idea for presenting the bust to the library, and how sculptor William Zorach came to do it.

Judge Jane Bolin, first Negro woman to sit on the New York bench, was to speak but she was ill. Her paper is read by Mrs. Regina M. Anderson, chief librarian of the Washington Heights branch. Through her Judge Bolin tells what Du Bois meant to her—"a man of dignity for his contribution to the dignity of man."

THEN VAN WYCK BROOKS, with his wonderful ruddy face, intelligent eyes and white mustache, the literary conscience of America. He tells of Du Bois, the Harvard student, going with his philosophy professor William James, to the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston to meet a 12-year-old girl named Helen Keller. Miss Keller is now a neighbor of Brooks in Connecticut and when he was invited to speak at the unveiling he went to tell her. She recalled the meeting in Boston. She said she felt then that she was in the presence of a great human being. Du Bois was the first to see, said Brooks, "that the darker peoples of the world would overthrow the world unless they got their share of democracy."

Then E. Franklin Frazier, the distinguished sociologist and teacher of Howard University, earnestly asking for a return to real scholarship in America.

Zorach speaks as the artist and how he has done his work, and the bust is unveiled and accepted by the Collection's gracious curator Jean Blackwell. The drape comes away and the audience, deeply moved, applauds long. An artist in the audience watches Zorach's face. She reports later: "He nodded, pleased, as though to say, 'It is a good thing I have done'."

Messages are read—from Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, and from Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, who speaks of his love for Du Bois and his "lovely consort," Shirley Graham.

FINALLY DU BOIS speaks. This writer has seen him many times: never has he seen him so moved. He says (and for once he is believed in this) that he was at a loss about what to say this night, and then decided to talk about books and libraries.

He tells how he had started his own library at 10 in his home town in western Massachusetts; how he felt the day the first public library opened ("I may not have been the first in line, but I surely was among the first"); how he bought Macaulay's five-volume **The History of England**, paying 25 cents a week, until it was his ("It is still in my library"). Du Bois' words are a song of love to books and learning and the joy of using knowledge to help people to learn.

After the ceremony, people move about greeting one another, basking in the glow of the great scholar and a full realization of what he has meant to America. It is as though each person there hoped secretly that a touch of the greatness had rubbed off on him, and that he might nurture it the rest of his life.

—James Aronson